DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 047 858 RC 005 081

AUTHOR Scoon, Annabelle R.
TITLE American Indian Ethnic Attitudes in Relation to School Achievement.
SPONS AGENCY New Mexico Univ., Albuquerque. Coll. of Education.
PUB DATE 7 Feb 71
NOTE 19p.; Paper presented at the American Educational Research Association annual convention, 4-7 February 1971, New York, New York

EDRS PRICE EDRS Price MF-$0.65 HC-$3.29
DESCRIPTORS Acculturation, Achievement, *American Indians, *Attitudes, *Education, *English (Second Language), *Motivation, Tests

ABSTRACT

The study characterizes American Indian youth as bilingual students who have not reached a high level of skill in English, the language in which they are receiving their instruction. It is pointed out that the methods employed and the special materials used to teach English as a second language have not been successful, perhaps as a result of lack of motivation. It is noted that there are 2 significant types of motivation in successful language learning: (1) instrumental, in which the student wishes to learn the language in order to make some particular use of it, and (2) integrative, the more successful of the 2 methods, in which the student learns in order to be able to know the world of the other language better and to grow closer to its speakers and perhaps be more like them. In assessing the possible level of integrative motivation, a semantic differential test was given to 11th and 12th graders of the Albuquerque Indian School. These 52 students (33 boys and 19 girls) represented 5 tribes: 18 Navajo, 21 Mescalero Apache, 9 Rio Grande Pueblo, 2 Zuni, and 2 Southern Ute. Analysis of test results on the 19 categories included in the instrument reflected that these Indian students indicated a desire to learn the English language but showed little evidence of being attracted to other aspects of Anglo culture. It is suggested that more time be devoted to making the world of English more familiar and more attractive to the Indian student. (EL)

ED047858

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
OFFICE OF EDUCATION
THIS DOCUMENT HAS BEEN REPRODUCED EXACTLY AS RECEIVED FROM THE PERSON OR ORGANIZATION ORIGINATING IT. POINTS OF VIEW OR OPINIONS STATED DO NOT NECESSARILY REPRESENT OFFICIAL OFFICE OF EDUCATION POSITION OR POLICY.

AMERICAN INDIAN ETHNIC ATTITUDES IN RELATION TO SCHOOL ACHIEVEMENT

College of Education

University of New Mexico

RC 005081

by

Annabelle R. Scoon
Albuquerque Indian School
Albuquerque, New Mexico

Paper presented at the American Educational Research Association annual convention, 4-7 February 1971, New York, New York.

AMERICAN INDIAN ETHNIC ATTITUDES IN RELATION TO SCHOOL ACHIEVEMENT

by

Annabelle R. Scoon

Introduction

What do our Indian students think of us? This question sounds deceptively simple, yet the complexity of the problems faced by American Indians in our society makes it important to know.

We are the adults, both Indian and non Indian who have become involved in the education of these children. Some have sought the involvement out of a prior knowledge of the problem. Others have fallen into it all unaware of the complications attendant upon it. In any case, we all soon find ourselves enmeshed in the same situations, reacting in our various ways. If we can better understand what is happening, we can increase our chances to improve things for the Indian student.

Current Situation

In 1960 the percent of American Indian students who were considered scholastically retarded (enrolled in a grade one or more below that normal for their age) was 29.2% at age 10-13, 41.5% at age 14 and 15, and 43% at age 16 and 17. This was a worse record than that of any other ethnic minority. Only 50% of those who entered high school graduated. (Coleman Report, 1966, p. 452) Between 1960 and 1969, the rate of high school dropout decreased from 50% to around 30%. However, this is still higher than the national rate of 22.7% or the Southwest rate of 28.6% (Bass, 1969).

The students at Albuquerque Indian School (AIS) are much like the average of the students described above. In 1969 and again in 1970, the mean of all senior high students on the Iowa Test of Educational Development (ITED) failed to go above the tenth percentile of the norm. More than half the students in this study were a year or more older than the usual age for their grade.

The mean verbal IQ (Otis Gamma) for these students was 90.6. A similar IQ score (87.3) was recorded at another Indian school, Sherman Institute in Riverside California, in 1968 (Bates 1969). Although non verbal measures made over many years have shown average or above average performance (Jameson and Sandiford 1928, Garth and Smith 1908, Havighurst 1957, Paxton 1965, Scoon and Blanchard 1970), one must conclude that Indians are in crucial need of increased verbal ability.

The same situation is found in other groups, particularly those who speak a non-standard variety of English in the home (Bernstein, 1967, Deutsch et. al. 1967). Many Indians, however, have an even greater handicap because they do not learn English at all in the home. Among the Navaho people in the Southwest, who make up about 20% of all Indians, it is estimated that approximately 90% of children enter school as non speakers of English (Spolsky 1971).

On the basis of the fact that these Indians learn English as a second language, the Test of English as a Foreign Language (TOEFL) was given to three Indian high school groups: the Institute of American Indian Arts in Santa Fe, New Mexico in 1969, and AIS and Albuquerque Public School Navaho students in 1970. The Indian students proved to rank below foreign students in their English achievement level, and far below native speakers of English both of their own age and much younger. Entering freshman students at the University of New Mexico who had scored below the thirtieth percentile of the mean on the American College

Test are at the 95th percentile on the TOEFL, while seventh and eighth grade students of Albuquerque Academy scored at the 90th percentile. The mean of the three Indian groups was at the 34th percentile.

It is clear that these bilingual students have not reached a high level of skill in the language in which they are receiving their instruction. There is nothing especially new in this finding. The problem is that attempts to improve students' English by different methods of instruction and special materials have not been successful. Varying methods of teaching a foreign language do not seem to cause varying achievement (Spolsky 1968).

Theoretical Background

Important research concerned with foreign language learning has been done by Wallace Lambert and colleagues in Canada and other French-English bilingual communities (Lambert and Gardner 1959, Gardner 1968, Lambert, Hodgson, Gardner and Fillenbaum, 1960, Peal and Lambert 1963, Lambert, Gardner, Barik and Tunstall, 1961, Lambert and Macnamarra, 1969, Lambert, Tucker, d'Anlejan and Segalowitz 1970, Lambert, Just and Segalowitz 1970). These studies indicate that although both aptitude and motivation are correlated with second-language learning success, the most important variable that distinguishes between more and less successful learners is motivation. Two main types of motivation are found: instrumental, in which the student wishes to learn the language in order to make some particular use of it; and integrative in which he learns in order to be able to know the world of the other

language better, grow closer to its speakers and perhaps be more like them. The integrative motivation proved to be most highly correlated with success.

The real-life situation of American Indians would make either or both motivations available to them. A strong instrumental motivation could develop, since the students have to learn English to function at all adequately in the school. Yet this may prove a very ambivalent motivator. The use of English is forced upon children at the age when they have just learned how to function well in their native language, and the need for the new language makes them again impotent communicators, subject to frustration and confusion. Negative feeling toward the language, and by extension to its speakers could certainly develop.

This does not seem to have been the case, however, with English-speaking monolingual children who were given their education for the first few years entirely in French in a Montreal experiment (Lambert, Just and Segalowitz 1970, Lambert and Macnamarra 1969, Lambert, Tucker, d'Anglejan and Segalowitz 1970). The crucial difference may lie in theinstrumental versus integrative motivations inherent in the two situations. Carroll (1962) has pointed out that the attitude of parents plays an important part in the students' attitude. Canadian English-speaking parents regarded going to school in French as a culturally integrative project. Lambert says, "this program was developed to satisfy a widely-accepted community desire to promote effective bilingualism" (Lambert, Just, and Segalowitz, 1970, p. 230). This feeling was undoubtedly passed on to the children. Indian parents, on the other hand, stress the need for Indian students to learn English as a tool to help them succeed in the English-speaking society. Some parents who have themselves learned English as a second language refuse to allow their children to learn the

native Indian language, and speak only English with them at home. This attitude is not the result of a desire to promote effective bilingualism, but rather results from the strong feeling that these parents have about the instrumental value of English and the difficulty of the bilingual situation.

Integrative motivation develops when a person chooses the group that speaks the other language as his reference group-- the group he wants to join (Spolsky 1967). In earlier years this type of motivation probably guided some of the most able Indians. The value of the melting pot was so generally accepted that many Indians must also have accepted it. Today very little in the general climate of feeling between Indians and non Indians would support the growth of such an integrative motivation. Indian militants, like Black militants, stress differences between the peoples and wrongs done by the majority to the minority (Cahn 1969, Deloria 1969).

Still, a desire for integration need not necessarily be absent. Motivation is basically a personal matter (Bower, Boyer and Sheirer 1970). In spite of a climate of resentment and disapproval toward English speakers, students who have been living for nine months of the year for ten or twelve years in the school environment might develop integrative feelings through their relations with teachers, counselors and non Indian acquaintances.

Measuring Integrative Motivation

Accepting the theory that motivation is an important variable in language learning success, and that integrative motivation leads to the most successful learning, it seems worthwhile to assess the possible level of integrative motivation of the Indian students with whose learning we are involved. A semantic differential test was chosen as a reasonable

way to measure this kind of attitude, for two reasons. First, AIS students are, as determined by other tests, deficient in English language ability. The semantic differential does not require the student to read sentences, and the words involved are short, simple and very common. In pre-test sessions it was determined that all the adjectives were in the students' vocabularies. A trial testing of the semantic differential instrument was made, and adjectives that were questioned by any student were discarded and replaced by simpler ones. Second, though the instrument is direct in asking for value judgments of various types of people and situations, the adjectives are not so negative that the student might become anxious at making too severe a judgment. The final form of the semantic differential appears in Appendix 1.

The test was given to all the eleventh and twelfth grade boys and girls of Albuquerque Indian School who attended their English classes on the day of the test. Since it was not announced beforehand, the absentees were not self-selected on the basis of test anxiety and therefore we assume that the classes were representative of their age and grade level. The total number of students tested was 52, 33 boys and 19 girls. Nineteen of these were seniors, and thirty-three were juniors. Age of the students was recorded only as normal age for the grade or over age. Seventeen years to seventeen and eleven months was considered normal for the juniors and eighteen years to eighteen and eleven months was normal for seniors. By this measure, 23 students were average age or younger and 29 were over age.

Five tribes were represented in the group. Eighteen students were Navaho, 21 Mescalero Apache, 9 Rio Grande Pueblo, 2 Zuni and 2 Southern Ute.

Test booklets were assembled so that the 19 categories to be judged occurred in random order among the booklets. Categories included Indian and non Indian roles, and three situations (see Appendix 1). Ten sets of bipolar evaluative adjectives were chosen, arranged so that the "high" and "low" value poles were evenly distributed between the left side and the right side of the paper. These arrangements were made to avoid as far as possible a directional response set to the adjectives, or a consistent influence of one category on responses to the one immediately after it.

Students were not required to sign their booklets, to minimize their tendency to try to decide what the "right" answers might be in order to impress the examiner. The only information asked of them in addition to sex, age, grade, and tribe was future plans, in three options: 1. Get a job after highschool; 2. Go to vocational school; and 3. Go to college. A fourth option was written in: join the Marines. Twelve students indicated that they planned to get a job, 27 to go to voactional school, 11 to go to college, and 2 will join the Marines.

Students took the test in their classroom groups. They were asked not to discuss their answers with each other. Most of the students seemed to commit themselves fully to the task after it was carefully explained, and only a few booklets showed possible evidence of random or deliberately one-directional responses.

Method of Analysis

The test booklets were reassembled so that all tests were in the order shown in Appendix 1. The responses were coded to make all positive value adjectives high and all negatives low, on a 7-point scale. Adjectives

that were hard to evaluate were noisy-quiet and hard-easy. Our decision to consider "noisy" as the high end of the continuum seems questionable, since some highly valued categories were judged as "quiet." Since we were not attempting to identify potency and activity factors, these adjectives may have been poor choices.

The rearranged data were subjected to two types of computer analysis. We obtained the mean score for each student on each category, and for each category summed over all 52 students. A table of correlation coefficients was developed for the categories, to determine which categories were strongly related.

The total raw data were also submitted to a factor analysis with orthogonal rotation to simple structure. The categories that fell into the various factors in the rotated factor matrix were examined to determine how they were related, and what insight this could give us into the attitudes of Indian students toward the kinds of people and situations they encounter. Both of these analyses were done on the IBM 360 computer at the University of New Mexico Computer Center.

Analysis of the Data

The table of correlation between the means of the nineteen category concepts showed very high correlation ($p < .0001$) between Indian students judgments of 10 pairs of categories. Those correlations that reflected high mean values for the categories were:

1. Indian woman-- home (.615)
2. My mother-- home (.608)
3. TV Actor-- my father (.593)
4. My father-- my mother (.552)

Correlations that reflected low mean values were:

1. Anglo teacher-- Anglo man (.647)
2. Anglo woman-- Anglo man (.640)
3. Anglo teacher-- school (.585)
4. Dormitory aide-- policeman (.573)
5. Anglo man-- school (.556)

The lowest mean value was given to the category Dormitory aide (mean 3.756, sd 1.101). The highest was that of The Person I'd Like to Be (mean 5.637, sd .817).

In considering what this could mean in terms of a positive feeling toward members of the majority culture, it should be pointed out that none of the high mean value categories were of the majority culture except TV actor. Every category in the low mean value set was Anglo with the possible exception of Dormitory aide and Policeman. In New Mexico, policemen can be either Anglo, Black or Spanish-American, while at AIS dormitory aides are either Indian or Spanish-American.

The factor analysis identified six factors, with 59% of the variance accounted for. The six factors and the categories which loaded most heavily in them are listed below, in order from heaviest loading to least. A category was not considered to fall into a factor unless five or more of its ten scores loaded at .30 or more in that factor. Negative loadings are indicated by a minus sign preceding the category.

Factor 1

Indian woman	The person I'd like to be	Indian teacher
Anglo man	-Indian tribal officer	-Dormitory aide
-Policeman		

Factor 2

Anglo teenager	TV actor
Anglo woman	School

Factor 3

My friend	Indian medicine man
My father	My mother

Factor 4

Anglo teacher	Policeman	Indian tribal officer
School	Dormitory aide	

Factor 5

Myself	Home
The person I'd like to be	Fulltime job

Factor 6

My father	Indian teacher
Indian tribal officer	

Twelve of the nineteen categories occur in no more than one factor. Six categories load on two factors, while Indian tribal officer appears in three.

Discussion of the Results

Assigning meaning to the factors of a factor analysis is a subjective judgment, and must be based on some additional knowledge of the situation. The fact that Indian tribal officer, Dormitory aide, and Policeman all load negatively on factor 1 and positively on factor 4 suggests a meaning

for these two factors that is related to authority and control. Factor 1 could be an internally accepted, positively viewed authority, since its positive categories include the ideal self as well as Indian teacher and Indian woman. The fact that Anglo man is strong in this category and appears in no other suggests that an anti-white stereotype may not exist here.

Factor 4, including the categories Policeman and Dormitory aide which had very low mean scores and were highly correlated, seems to be the factor of undesirable or disapproved authority. School and Anglo teacher both load most heavily in this factor. The loading of Indian Tribal officer is lower, but seems to indicate that those in positions of authority in the Indian society are not necessarily valued by students. This factor may reflect a general youth-culture value in which ascribed authority of any type tends to be rejected.

Factor 2 is unique for Anglo teenager, Anglo woman, and TV actor, with School somewhat weaker and shared with Factor 4. The mean scores of these categories are not especially high or low. The factor may be something like "not in my world," a social difference or unfamiliarity factor. Indian students at AIS do not have much contact with Anglo women and teenagers. TV actors of course belong to a different world. Does school also seem strange and unreal to these students?

Factor 3 is made up of comforting and helpful people: My father is the only category in factor 3 that also occurs in another factor. It is interesting that neither My father nor My mother appear in the two factors that contain authority figures This may be the result of the often-

reported system of child control which depends upon shaming the child before outsiders. Spilka (1970) and others have suggested that this leads to an "other-directedness" in which the authority of the reference group exercises more control over behavior than that of the parents. If one extends this idea to the school situation, where the students have apparently rejected the adults who are in closest contact with them, i.e. dormitory aides and teachers, then it would seem that peer group pressure would be even more important than it is in their home environment. Their motivations might be strongly toward conformity rather than toward striving to achieve.

Factor 5 seems to represent security and success. Myself, Home, and Fulltime job occur only in this factor, while The person I'd like to be is shared with factor 1, approved authority. A number of studies, including Scoon and Blanchard (1970) and Blanchard and Reedy (1970) have indicated that Indian students have a poor self-concept. The Coleman Report (1966) also made this finding, though suggesting that it was not so important a problem for Indians as for Blacks. In our sample, this test does not support the idea of the poor self image. The students rated Myself and The person I'd like to be (ideal self) similarly, with high mean scores for both. These students do not appear to be dissatisfied with themselves.

The study does not, of course, touch on the matter of the disparity between the student's evaluation of his own ability and the facts, or his level of aspiration and his real possibilities. Self concept-achievement studies reported in Bower, Boyer and Scheirer (1970) suggest that a positive self concept combined with a large perceived self-ideal self

discrepancy contributes positively to motivation. However, this contribution might be lacking if there were little or no perceived discrepancy. The student who is quite satisfied with himself feels less need to strive for better things. Therefore it might be difficult to motivate students at AIS toward the English improvement that higher academic achievement requires.

The fact that Myself appears in a factor with no adult suggests a lack of identification or modelling on adults. However, the ideal self is associated with Indian teacher, Indian woman, and Anglo man. Perhaps these are desirable ideal models.

Factor 6 seems to contain adults of status. It is a factor recognizing high status rather than evaluating it, since each category in factor 6 appears in another factor. Thus Indian teacher is in factor 1, approved authority, My father is also in factor 3, comforting people, and Indian tribal officer is negatively loaded in factor 1 and positively in factor 4, disagreeable authority.

Conclusion

The original aim of this study was to find the answer to the question "What do our Indian students think of us?" We theorized that, if integrative motivation is associated with language learning success and our students have not learned English very successfully, then we might find evidence of a lack of integrative feelings toward the representatives of the English-speaking culture in the school environment and outside.

Our analysis shows that of eleven categories viewed positively by the students, only one is specifically non Indian: Anglo man. Of five categories viewed negatively, one is Indian: Indian tribal officer; one

is specifically white: Anglo teacher; three could be mixed: Dormitory aide, Policeman, and School. Distant relations are felt with TV actors, Anglo teenager, and School.

We can thus, I believe, say that there is little evidence here of an integrative feeling toward the Anglo culture. The authority of Anglo men is accepted, Anglo women and teenagers belong to a different world, while Anglo teachers represent disagreeable authority. Positive feelings are reserved for Indians and family. School itself is disagreeable and somewhat distant. A fulltime job is good-- but these students have never held one, and do not necessarily associate it realistically with the majority-culture world.

Ethnocentricity may be seen here, but not necessarily a strong anti-white orientation. These AIS students have not yet become much involved in ethnic movements. However, an integrative motivation to learn a language well depends upon a positive felt desire to be closer to, or even become a member of the group that speaks the language. These students show little evidence of being attracted to the Anglo group. Even Anglo man, which appears in a positively valued category, is associated not with Myself but with the ideal self. Since school is classed with policeman and dormitory aide, both disliked categories, even an instrumental motivation to learn the language of the school may be weak.

If in fact motivation is the most important variable in the language-learning process, it seems that we might devote a great deal of thought to ways of making the world of English more familiar and more attractive to our Indian students.

Appendix 1

Adjectives for semantic differential:

groovy: : : : : : : :square

sad : : : : : : : :happy

smart : : : : : : : :dumb

weak : : : : : : : :strong

hard : : : : : : : :easy

quiet : : : : : : : :noisy

unfair: : : : : : : :fair

no good: : : : : : : :useful

kind : : : : : : : :mean

fast : : : : : : : :slow

Categories judged in terms of the bipolar adjectives:

1. My friend
2. Dormitory aide
3. Indian teacher
4. TV actor
5. My father
6. Anglo teacher
7. Indian medicine man
8. Anglo woman
9. Indian tribal officer
10. Anglo teenager
11. My mother
12. Policeman
13. Indian woman
14. Anglo man
15. Myself
16. The person I'd like to be
17. School
18. Home
19. Fulltime job

References

Bass, Willard P. 1969. American Indian high school dropouts in the southwest. Southwestern Cooperative Educational Laboratory: Albuquerque, New Mexico.

Bates, Marilyn. 1969. Report of test data. Fullerton, California. Mimeo.

Bernstein, Basil. 1967. Social structure, language, and learning. In A. Harry Passow, Miriam Goldberg, Abraham J. Tannenbaum, Education of the Disadvantaged. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston.

Blanchard, Joseph D. and Richard Reedy. 1970. The relationship of a test of English as a second language to measures of achievement and self-concept in a sample of American Indian students. Prepared for the American Psychological Association Convention, August 1970.

Bower, W. Scott, Joe L. Boyer, and Elinor A. Scheirer. 1970. Research related to academic achievement motivation: an illustrative review. Theory Into Practice IX, 1, pp.33-46.

Cahn, Edgar S. 1969. Our Brother's Keeper: the Indian in White America. New York: World.

Carroll, John B. 1962. The prediction of success in intensive FL training. In Robert Glazer (ed.) Training Research in Education. Pittsburgh; University of Pittsburgh Press.

Coleman, James S. 1966. Equality of Educational Opportunity. National Center for Educational Statistics. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Office of Education, Washington D.C.

Deloria, Vine. 1969. Custer Died for your Sins: an Indian Manifesto. New York: Macmillan.

Deutsch, Martin and associates. 1967. The Disadvantaged Child. New York: Basic Books.

Gardner, R.C. 1968. Attitudes and motivation: their role in second-language acquisition. TESOL Quarterly 2, pp. 141-50.

Garth, T.R. and O.D. Smith. 1908. Performance of full-blooded Indians on language and non-language intelligence tests. Journal of Abnormal Psychology. 2, pp. 376-81.

Havighurst, Robert J. 1957. Education among American Indians: individual and cultural aspects. Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences. May 1957, pp. 105-14.

Jamison, E. and F. Sandiford. 1928. The mental capacity of southern Ontario Indians. Journal of Educational Psychology, 19, pp. 536-51.

Lambert, Wallace E. and R.C. Gardner. 1959. Motivational variables in second-language acquisition. Canadian Journal of Psychology, 13, pp. 266-72.

_____, Hodgson, Gardner, and Fillenbaum. 1960. Evaluational reactions to spoken languages. Journal of Abnormal Psychology. 60, pp. 44-51.

_____, R.C. Gardner, H.C. Barik, K. Tunstall. 1963. Attitudinal aspects of intensive study of a second language. Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology. 66, pp. 358-68.

_____, and John Macnamara. 1969. Some cognitive consequences of following a first-grade curriculum in a second language. Journal of Educational Psychology. 60, pp. 86-96.

_____, Just and Segalowitz. 1970. Some cognitive consequences of following the curricula of the early school grades in a foreign language. Georgetown University Monograph Series on Languages and Linguistics. Number 23, pp. 229-262.

_____, G.R. Tucker, A. D'Anglejan, and S. Segalowitz. 1970. Cognitive and attitudinal consequences of following the curricula of the first three grades in a foreign language. McGill University. Mimeo.

Osgood, C.E., George J. Suci, Percy H. Tannenbaum. 1957. The Measurement of Meaning. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

Paxton, S. Gabe. 1965. Study of the intelligence of Indian adolescents using the Chicago non-verbal examination. Indian Education, Supplement Issue 414-S, February 1965. Washington D.C. Branch of Education, Bureau of Indian Affairs.

Peal, Elizabeth, and Wallace E. Lambert. 1962. The relation of bilingualism to intelligence. Psychological Monograph, General and applied, 76, 546.

Scoon, Annabelle R. and Joseph D. Blanchard. 1970. The relation of a test of English as a second language to measures of intelligence, achievement and adjustment in a sample of American Indian students. Prepared for the March 1970 convention of Teachers of English as a Second Language.

Spilka, Bernard. 1970. Alienation and achievement among Oglala Sioux secondary school students. National Institute of Mental Health, Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Public Health Service, Washington D.C.

Spolsky, Bernard. 1967. Attitudinal aspects of second language learning. Prepared for the Second Congress of Applied Linguistics, Cambridge England, 1967.

_____. TV report, KNME, Albuquerque, New Mexico.